

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 /151 W

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R 301454Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2951

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

DIA WASHDC

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14748

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS/ PFOR, UR, XF

SUBJ: SOVIET EXPERT ON MIDDLE EAST

REF: MOSCOW 14494

1. SUMMARY. AN AUTHORITATIVE SOVIET SPECIALIST ON  
MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS, IN PRIVATE TALKS WITH AMERICAN  
ACADEMICS LAST WEEK, BLAMED U.S. UNILATERAL MOVES FOR  
INCREASING TENSION IN THAT AREA. HE IMPLIED THAT THE  
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SOVIET UNION IS MOVING TOWARD OPEN SUPPORT FOR A  
PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. HE

REACTED NEGATIVELY TO DISENGAGEMENT ON THE JORDAN FRONT.  
HE ALSO SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE SEVERAL  
RECENT ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH  
ISRAEL BUT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY REBUFFED BY THE ISRAELIS.  
END SUMMARY.

2. E.M. PRIMAKOV, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF IMEMO (INSTITUTE  
FOR WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) AND A  
SOVIET AUTHORITY ON THE MIDDLE EAST (HE WAS A PRAVDA  
CORRESPONDENT IN THE AREA), DISCUSSED THE ME LAST WEEK  
WITH A VISITING GROUP OF U.S. SOVETOLOGISTS  
AT A SYMPOSIUM JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE USA INSTITUTE AND  
IMEMO AND BY THE STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE. HE SAID  
THAT U.S. MANEUVERING WITHOUT REGARD FOR SOVIET INTERESTS  
HAS RESULTED IN THE LOSS OF MOMENTUM IN NEGOTIATIONS.  
THIS IN TURN HAS DRIVEN TENSIONS AND ARMS DELIVERIES  
UP IN THE MIDDLE EAST. PRIMAKOV ADVOCATED A "PACKAGE  
PLAN" SOLUTION WHICH WOULD ENVISAGE (1) ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL  
FROM OCCUPIED LANDS; (2) SECURING THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL  
RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS; AND (3) GUARANTEEING THE  
SECURITY OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA. COMPLETION COULD  
BE BY STAGES, BUT THE WHOLE PACKAGE MUST BE ACCEPTED  
IN TOTO.

3. PRIMAKOV SPELLED OUT TO SOME DEGREE WHAT HE MEANT  
BY "THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIANS  
BY SPEAKING IN FAIRLY CONCRETE TERMS OF A PALESTINIAN  
STATE WHICH COULD BE SET UP ON THE WEST BANK AND BAZA.  
HE ALLUDED TO SOVIET OPPOSITION TO A PALESTINIAN STATE  
ON ISRAELI TERRITORY, BUT SAID THAT SUCH A STATE ON  
ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORY WAS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT  
MATTER. HE SAW NO REASON WHY THE U.S. AND ISRAEL  
SHOULD OBJECT TO SUCH A STATE, FOR THE PALESTINIANS  
ORGANIZED AS A STATE WOULD BE MUCH MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO  
WORLD PRESSURE TO MODERATE THEIR BEHAVIOR THAN THEY ARE  
IN THEIR PRESENT DISORGANIZED CONDITION.

4. HE SAID THAT FROM MEETINGS WITH "PALESTINIAN LEADERS"  
THIS SUMMER (AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO ARAFAT'S VISIT TO  
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MOSCOW IN JULY-AUGUST), HE BELIEVES THAT THE PLO "IS  
CAPABLE OF ACCEPTING THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL." HIS  
IMPLIED CONDITION WAS ISRAELI ACCEPTANCE OF THE PALESTINIAN  
STATE HE WAS PROPOSING.

5. PRIMAKOV WAS OF THE OPINION THAT DISENGAGEMENT ON THE  
JORDANIAN FRONT AT THIS TIME COULD ONLY SERVE TO  
COMPLICATE THE MEPC, FOR "IT WOULD AFFECT THE PALESTINIAN  
QUESTION; COMMENT: THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY DO NOT WANT  
TO SEE ANY MOVEMENT TOWARD ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN THAT

AREA UNTIL THE PALESTINIAN AND ARAB LEADERS COME TO MORE COMPLETE AGREEMENT ON HOW THE WEST BANK PALESTINIANS ARE TO BE REPRESENTED. END COMMENT.

6. PRIMAKOV DOWNPLAYED CHINESE INFLUENCE IN THE PLO AND ATTEMPTED TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION OF A PLO GREATLY MODERATED IN BEHAVIOR DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS. HE SAID THAT SOVIET COOPERATION WITH THE PLO HAD INCREASED ONLY AS THE PLO MOVED AWAY FROM TERRORISM.

7. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH DR. RICHARD PIPES OF HARVARD, PRIMAKOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ATTEMPTED SEVERAL TIMES IN THE RECENT PAST TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, BUT HAS BEEN FIRMLY REBUFFED EACH TIME. DR. PIPES TOLD US THAT HIS IMPRESSION FROM PRIMAKOV IS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT INCREASING TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ARE THOROUGHLY FRUSTRATED BY ISRAELI REFUSAL TO TALK TO THEM.

8. COMMENT. GROMYKO'S CONDITIONAL OFFER IN HIS UNGA SPEECH ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL (REFTEL) LENDS SOME CREDENCE TO PRIMAKOV'S ASSERTIONS OF SOVIET ACTIVITY TO THAT END. LAST JUNE THE SOVIETS FLOATED REPORTS THAT RELATIONS WERE IMMINENT; THE FACT THAT NOTHING TRANSPIRED WOULD SQUARE WITH PRIMAKOV'S STATEMENT THAT MOSCOW HAD TRIED AND FAILED. ON THE OTHER HAND, BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS WERE TOLD IN MID-SEPTEMBER BY SOVIET MFA NEAR EAST COUNTRIES DIVISION CHIEF SYTENKO THAT THE QUESTION OF SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS IS NOT A LIVE ONE. EMBASSY TEL AVIV MAY BE ABLE TO THROW SOME LIGHT ON THE QUESTION.  
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